JPRS 69844

23 September 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1450

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SWEDES CONCERNED OVER CSSR ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL REFUGEES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25, 27 Aug 77

[25 Aug 77, p 25]

[Text] Our Foreign Office is in the process of translating forms which Czechoslovak refugees are being asked to sign at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Stockholm. The Foreign Office is trying to ascertain whether such registration and charting of Czechoslovaks is in accord with legal practices in Sweden. From a purely moral point of view these practices are wrong. The Czechoslovak Embassy does not want to comment on the report.

On Tuesday it was disclosed that Czechoslovak refugees, many of them Swedish citizens, are being asked to report to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Stockholm to register and to sign a document.

There are about 4,000 Czechoslovaks in Sweden.

If those who are called do not want to report to the embassy to "normalize relations with their native country" they do not have to.

By signing the document refugees are given amnesty in their old native country, but it costs them money.

The amnesty is reported to cost between 700 and 800 kronor in the first round. The amount is later increased to several thousand kronor.

The forms are available only at the embassy. They are not sent out to those who are called and they never leave the embassy.

However, the Foreign Office is now translating copies of the form which they came across. We want to ascertain whether this procedure is in agreement with Swedish law, according to the Foreign Office.

Even if it should be legal, the procedure is very discomforting. They have already made up their mind about it at the Foreign Office. Such action is completely foreign to legal concepts in Sweden.

By signing the forms refugees pledge themselves to a number of things, among them certain economic matters from which Czechoslovakia stands to benefit.

The Foreign Office is very concerned about the fact that the undersigned pledge themselves "not to speak ill of Czechoslovakia," according to a Foreign Office official.

Should the Foreign Office find this action illegal, it may take any of three different steps. The first and the mildest would simply be to mention the fact that the Czechoslovak Embassy is involved in illegal practices. The second step would be to call a Czechoslovak Embassy representative to the Foreign Office and to give him this information in person.

The third and most serious step would be to have Karin Soder publicly denounce the procedure.

The embassy press attache does not consider the matter particularly strange and says thay are only complying with orders which they received from their foreign office in Prague. Beyond that they do not want to comment on the matter.

[27 Aug 77, p 2]

Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia and other Eastern countries consider a person a criminal if he leaves the country without permission. Furthermore, he is simply stripped of his former citizenship if he should gradually become a citizen of his new homeland.

The Czechoslovak government has issued new regulations concerning refugees' connections with their former native land. A general amnesty is out of the question without a complicated trial of each individual case.

Refugees must petition for a pardon and for the right to live abroad as well as to be free of their Czechoslovak citizenship.

Furthermore, they must promise not to harm the interests of Czechoslovakia or any other socialist country. The refugees, of which several are now Swedish citizens, rightly consider these demands to be a form of pressure. The lure is that their relatives will be permitted to travel to the west only if refugees loyally follow Czechoslovak rules. Some countries have been known to exercise pressure before, even to spy on their fellow countrymen in Sweden, like the junta in Greece, Morocco and Iran.

It is salutary that our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Karin Soder, now criticizes the Czechoslovak Embassy's pressure against refugees. Swedish authorities also promise to help those who become the object of such pressure. Refugees are often in greater need of legal aid than are native born Swedes.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CEMA SESSION ON RADIO TECHNOLOGY--The further development of television, studio and consumer appliance electrotechnical equipment is on the agenda of the 14th session of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Radio Technology and the Electrical Engineering Industry which opened in Banska Bystrica on Monday. It will be attended by more than 80 experts from eight CEMA member states. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

SOVIET, VIETNAMESE TU OFFICIALS--Vladimir Marik, secretary of the CSSR'S Central Trade Union Council, received Petr Piemenov, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, in Prague 8 September. They exchanged information regarding the Lanned Trade Union actions in honor of the 60th anniversary of Great October. The same day Marik received Nguyen Thuyet, secretary of the General Federation of Vietnamese Trade Unions, with whom he discussed further cooperation between the CSSR and the Vietnamese trade unions. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

HUSAK, STROUGAL GREET VIETNAMESE LEADERS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[CTK dispatch from Prague: "Congratulations to Vietnam"]

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, premier of the CSSR Government, have sent the following telegram to Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee; Ton Duc Thang, president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; and Pham Van Dong, premier of the Council of Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the occasion of the state holiday of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam:

"Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the state holiday of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam we extend most ardent comradely greetings and sincere congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and on our own behalf to the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party, the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, to all Vietnamese people and to you personally.

"The Vietnamese people are commemorating the state holiday under conditions of peace and national independence. The victory over the American aggression, won at the cost of immense sacrifices, has made it possible to begin rebuilding the country destroyed by the war and to embark on the road of building socialism mapped out by the historical Fourth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party.

"The successes achieved by the Vietnamese people in building the united socialist fatherland are the result of great labor enthusiasm, dedication and work initiative by the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia and all strata of working people of your country. The firm friendship and constantly deepening cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the countries of the socialist camp constitutes a guarantee of a successful advance.

"The people of socialist Czechoslovakia sincerely rejoice at the significant successes achieved by the working people of the Socialist Republic

of Vietnam in overcoming the consequences of the many years of war against the imperialist forces and in implementing the conclusions of the Fourth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party. We just as highly appreciate the consistent, principled action by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the struggle by all progressive, democratic forces to consolidate peace and advance cooperation between the countries of Asia and of other continents.

"We assure you that the CPCZ, the government and all Czechoslovak people will continue with all their might to contribute to deepening the comprehensive comradely cooperation between our parties and states for the benefit of the peoples of our two countries and in the interest of a further successful strengthening of the cause of socialism, progress and peace throughout the world.

"Dear comrades, permit us to wish to the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party, to the government and people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and to you personally many successes in implementing the bold objectives of building the socialist society in your country, in the struggle for peace and progress throughout the entire world."

On the same occasion Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, sent a congratulatory telegram to Truong-Chinh, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; and Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, to Nguyen Duy Trinh, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The social organizations also sent gongratulatory telegrams to their counterparts.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR'S EXPULSION OF TWO ITALIANS REPORTED

SETTIMANALE: A Case of Harassment

Rome IL SETTIMANALE in Italian No 28, 20 Jul 77 p 29

[Text] Take a look at the two young men in the photograph. The name of the one on the left is Luigi Ceccobelli. He is 27 years old. The other is Ferdinando Scargetta, age 19. They were expelled from Czechoslovakia after spending 12 days in prison. Why? The CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY (CTK) says that Ceccobelli was in possession of false papers and belonged to a neofascist group that is fomenting subversion in communist countries. As for Scargetta, no comment whatsoever. As a matter of fact, these are all lies and shameful misrepresentations, which the two young men were able to demonstrate as soon as they got back to Italy. Ferdinando Scargetta, born at Montecastello Vibio in Umbria, is a chauffeur and manager of agricultural projects and is absolutely unfamiliar with any political activity. As for Luigi Ceccobelli, he is a postal clerk at Fratta Todina in the province of Perugia and is secretary of the local Christian Democratic Party [DC] and a member of local DC board. But he has never had anything to do with neofascist groups. It has never remotely entered his mind to foment subversion in any part of the world. The Czechoslovak accusations seem so completely absurd that the town counsel of Todi has passed a strongly worded resolution of solidarity with the two young men and of condemnation for the methods used by the Czechoslovak authorities. It was also noted that the passports and other papers of Ceccobelli and Scargetta were perfectly in order, having been approved by the competent officials in complete observance of existing regulations. This disturbing incident in which the two young men were involved cast a sinister shadow over present practices with respect to the treatment of foreigners in the East European countries.

Here are the details of the incident. Ceccobelli and Scargetta are friends. They decided to use a bit of their savings to take a vacation abroad. Where would they go? They chose the USSR and presented the matter to Italturist, the agency responsible for arranging tourist travel in Russia. There was the usual red tape, advance payments, the prescribed stopovers and the predetermined itinerary, visas, passports, etc. Everything was in order. They left on 31 May, driving a car. Of course, they also had transit visas for

the communist countries they would have to cross in order to reach the USSR. They crossed the Czechoslovak frontiers without incident. They arrived in Warsaw on 1 June, where they were authorized to stop over until 7 June. They then headed directly for Moscow. At the Soviet border near Brest they were rigorously examined. Even loaves of bread and cans of meat were searched. They made the Italians eat canned mushrooms (did they really think that these were poisoned and destined for Brezhnev's use?), and plainclothesmen accompanied by interpreters subjected the perplexed tourists to a detailed interrogation as to their religion, political interests, and opinions on historical developments. There was nothing they didn't ask. Finally they were told that, although their visas were valid, there was an error in transcribing some numbers and they were therefore denied admission to the USSR.

Protests were useless. The two tourists, embittered by a vacation dream that had gone up in smoke, returned to Warsaw, got in contact with the Italian Embassy, and spoke with Rome. It was useless. They would have to go back home. But at the Czechoslovak frontier the worst experience of all was awaiting them. The car was confiscated, they were taken to Prague, and they were kept in separate cells of the prison without formal charges. It is easy to understand their state of mind as they were interrogated in the days that followed through an interpreter (who proved to be the kindest and most understanding person in the whole place). Attempts were made to catch them in contradictions, anonymous letters were referred to, and absurd substitutions of passport photos were made. They were also denied permission to telephone the Italian Embassy. In the cells they were subjected to a terrible diet. For days they were unable to stretch out on their bunks for fear of being beaten by the guards. For 12 days they endured this unnerving tension in a nightmarish atmosphere. Then they were released (with official excuses), after which the falsified report was issued by the press agency. Is that the end of the matter? Is it possible for our country to shrug its shoulders over this kind of insult to its citizens?

RUDE PRAVO: Documents Showed Tampering

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jun 77 p 2

[a CTK report: "Italian Citizens Expelled"]

[Text] In persuance of the Czechoslovak Legal Code, two Italian citizens--Luigi Ceccobelli, born 1950, and Fernando Scargetta, born 1958--were taken into custody a few days ago by the Czechoslovak security organs.

The two were traveling together in a car bearing the registration number PG-29 76 91 I. It was clearly obvious from Ceccobellini's travel documents that he had unlawfully tampered with the official data contained in them. Ceccobelli and Scarletta were expelled from the CSSR.

Other information which has been obtained indicates that L. Ceccobellini is allegedly a member of a neo-fascist group engaged in preparing subversive and terrorist activity in the socialist countries.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK CLERGYMEN MEET, PROTEST NEUTRON BOMB

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Sep 77 p 2 AU

[CTK Report: "Clergymen's Seminar"]

[Text] A 2-day seminar of clergymen of the Slovak Evangelical Church in the CSSR devoted to the 60th anniversary of Great October ended in Bratislava yesterday. The seminar, sponsored by the Commission for the Peace Work of Churches, was chaired by Bishop General Prof Dr J. Michalko. The seminar heard the lectures "The Great October Socialist Revolution As a Starting Point For the Struggle For Lasting Peace" and "The Struggle of Nations for Social Justice and Against Racial Discrimination." In this connection the lecturers pointed out the historical significance of Great October, which has become the starting point as well as the example for the struggle for lasting peace, social justice and equal rights in relations among nations, and at the same time they emphasized the task of churches and religious organizations to increase their role in this struggle. In the final communique the participants in the seminar promised to increase their role in the struggle for peace. They unanimously adopted a protest resolution against the U.S. ruling circles' plan to produce the terrible neutron bomb.

PROBLEMS OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS DISCUSSED

Vienna WIENER TAGEBUCH in German No 7/8, Jul/Aug 77 pp 17-18

[Article by Hans H. Huecking, student of theology, teacher in Dortmund, FRG: "Conscientious Objectors in the GDR"]

[Text] With the introduction of universal conscription in the GDR in 1962, potential draftees of a Christian orientation became particularly subject to moral conflicts--from the oath of allegiance alone. In no small part due to the urging of the Protestant church leaderships of the GDR, which at that time were still associated with the churches of the FRG in the Protestant Church of Germany, those persons liable for military service "who because of religious views or similar reasons refuse armed military service" were therefore given the legal opportunity to perform unarmed alternative service by order of the national defense council in the fall of 1964 (GDR GESETZBLATT 1964, Part I, No 11). This order constitutes the basis for the only legal regulation of refusal to perform military service currently existing in the Eastern European countries. Unofficial estimates--the exact figures are not published by the Ministry of National Defense--cite a yearly quota of between 600 and 800 persons liable for military service who have opted for the construction unit. Only a minority of them are drafted, however.

In its legal consequences this alternative service is equivalent to armed military service. The members of this unit have the official rank "construction soldier"; unofficially they are also called "spade" or "shovel soldiers" by the population. "They wear a stone gray uniform with effects and olive branch-of-service color. As special insignia they wear the symbol of a spade on their shoulders" (section 7). Their superiors are "proven enlisted men, NCOs and officers of the NVA" (section 9). They swear no oath of allegiance, however, but make a solemn promise.

Although the construction soldiers are not trained in the use of weapons, they are subject to military penal law and have combat status: this means that in case of war they are forced to make entrenchments in the front line. If captured, they are considered prisoners of war. They are also

equivalent to armed soldiers with respect to pay, vacations, and length of service (18 months). The regulation provides for work at civilian and military facilities.

But for the majority of construction soldiers there were conflicts from the beginning regarding the application of the regulation and the integration of the construction soldiers into the military realm: among other things, in making the "solemn promise" ("unconditional obedience"), in basic military training, and in employment at military facilities. While the first two of these conflicts receded into the background somewhat over time, the last one remained an issue until the end of 1975. For despite their refusal of armed service, they were preeminently employed in the expansion of military positions, although employment in civilian facilities is also mentioned in the regulation (section 2). There resulted several refusals and petitions designed not only to keep the problem open, but to press for the transformation of the construction units into an alternative civilian service or at least to exhaust the civilian employment opportunities contained in the regulation.

The petitions were always refused with the same justification that the current threat from the FRG necessitated the continual employment at military facilities. In the "reading matter for the political training of the construction soldiers" of October 1973 it is expressly stated that "the attitude of some individuals that 'one could be useful to the society in another position' simply does not tally with the truth and is irreconcilable with the willingness to share in responsibility for the whole... Alternative service in the construction units is...the only possible concession of our government still tenable before the people..." Thus according to Section 2, Article 1 of the State Legal Code, "anyone who refuses to perform military service or avoids it through deception" is punished with imprisonment for up to 5 years, conviction on probation, or penal detention.

A number of cases have become known in which construction soldiers were sentenced to up to 3 years' imprisonment for failing to comply with their induction into the construction units or for refusing to construct trenches, emplacements, and convoy routes (the so-called total refusers).

The establishment of the construction units was viewed from the beginning as a concession to such GDR citizens as refused armed military service because of religious views or for similar reasons. Hence it is understandable that the state organs wanted to avoid any public effect and popularity of the construction units. From 1964 to the present virtually any reference to construction soldiers has been consciously avoided in the GDR press. Only within the Protestant church—in its student and youth congregations—is the Christian witness of peace, and in that connection military service and alternative service, expounded and discussed. Moreover, in the first few years rumors were intentionally spread comparing the construction units with "penal companies" and making the construction soldiers appear to be

conscious or potential opponents of the state. Later on there was a noticeable effort to recognize the construction soldiers as citizens with equal rights (opportunities to obtain qualifications in construction technology and generally no objections to later tertiary education).

After the premilitary and military training had been made a firm component of the uniform socialist system of education in 1971, the regulation of 1964 was practically nullified, especially in the area of pedagogical and tertiary education. As a result, candidates for college-level study rarely refuse military service any more. Construction soldiers must also reckon with considerable difficulties in seeking training or working positions.

Although since October 1975 the construction soldiers have continued to be under the authority of the GDR Ministry for National Defense, their duties are essentially restricted to areas of the so-called rear services (supply, maintenance, gardening, etc). The authorities evidently seem to have respected the construction soldiers' demand to be employed only for civilian tasks. Nevertheless, their situation is contradictory enough. Apart from the fact that it is still not possible to speak of a civilian service, the antagonism in the understanding of peace and security between the state, the SED, and the military on the one hand and the conscientious objectors on the other remains a source of friction. The state, party, and military of the GDR attach to unarmed alternative service the full duty of the NVA soldier: security through military and defensive superiority over the class enemy. The conscientious objectors oppose to this view their own understanding of themselves, which, grossly simplified, may be subdivided into two lines of argument. One is represented by those who are not at all conscious of the political dimension ascribed to their decision by the state and do not want to be conscious of it. In essence, they are following their personal, predominantly Christian conscience, which fundamentally forbids them to undergo a training and oath directed toward the killing of other human beings. Their attitude corresponds to a simple rejection of "personal" or "direct force," without taking or seeking a position on peace in the social and international dimension.

The second group opposes to the publicly proclaimed peace ethic of the state, party, and military an understanding of peace which they connect with their demand for genuine alternative services. These conscientious objectors feel thoroughly responsible for their society--and also for the development of socialism, though not in the sense of an uncritical affirmation of the GDR. They acknowledge the deterrent policy in the present international political situation to be peace-sustaining, but only in the sense of a necessary evil to hinder a hot war. In other words, they deny that this policy fosters peace, especially since, by defending and deepening an irreconcilable friend-enemy scheme and by inculcating hatred and mistrust, it attempts to stabilize those factors which are downright opposed to overcoming a peace based on deterrents and threats. But they do not remain caught up in this negation; rather, they strive toward positions designed to alleviate precisely those factors. Their great dilemma, however, consists in the fact that for lack of opportunity to perform alternative service, and because of the most extreme restrictions on communication, they can give only very modest and obscure expression to their view.

PREMIER LAZAR SPEAKS AT SOFIA DINNER IN HIS HONOR

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Sep 77 p 2 AU

[Toast proposed by Gyorgy Lazar, premier of the Hungarian People's Republic, at a dinner party given in his honor by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, on 1 September 1977 at the "Lozenets" government residence in Sofia.]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Stanko Todorov, dear comrades, dear friends: I would like, above all, to express my gratitude to the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic for inviting us and for the cordial hospitality with which we were received. I would like to express particular gratitude for Comrade Todorov's kind words about the Hungarian People's Republic, the friendship between our two peoples, and the cooperation between our two countries.

Our people are following with sincere and great sympathy the inspired creative work being accomplished in the Bulgarian People's Republic. We highly appreciate the achievements of historical significance which have been attained, under the leadership of your Communist Party, in building your socialist economy, in developing science and culture, and we rejoice at the constant increase in the Bulgarian people's prosperity. The splendid successes achieved in construction, the consistent, peace-loving policy conducted by the Bulgarian People's Republic—all these things have won the recognition of international public opinion and insure the prestige of the Bulgarian People's Republic and respect for this country.

I can tell you, dear comrades, that in our motherland, the Hungarian People's Republic, too, the building of a developed socialist society continues with an unrelenting spirit. In following the instructions of the 11th MSZMP Congress, we are working to further intensify and strengthen the socialist traits characteristic of our society in all sectors of life, and we are devoting particular efforts to solving the economic tasks. The requirements facing us are great, and we will have to overcome quite a considerable number of difficulties. Nevertheless, we look to our future with confidence, because our people approve and actively support our party's policy, because in a fraternal unity, a unity which gives us security, we are implementing an increasingly fruitful alliance with the USSR and with the member countries

of the socialist community. I can also mention with gratification the fact that we are successfully implementing our annual plan. In this connection, a main role is played by the vast working competition which has developed at the initiative of the Chepel workers in honor of the Great October Socialist Revolution and which is an accurate expression of our people's deep international feelings.

Dear comrades, the relations existing between our two peoples, the origins of which can be traced far back into the past, have really been greatly developed and have become a creative element in our daily lives only in the decades of socialist construction. We are linked together by the common idea of Marxism-Leninism. We are proceeding side by side along the path of building socialism. The friendship between our two peoples, governments, and parties is eternal and indestructible. Our ties of friendship are growing even more stronger due to the fact that we are active members of the Warsaw Pact and of the CEMA, due to the fact that our alliance with the first socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union, and with the other fraternal socialist countries is based on solid foundations. The full unanimity of our stands on all important questions of socialist construction and of the international communist and workers movement is the source of our strength, of our cooperation, which is permeated by a spirit of internationalism.

Dear comrades, the leaders of our two parties, Comrades Janos Kadar and Todor Zhivkov, are always encouraging us to consider the manysided and constant development of relations between our two countries as our important task. This time again we have come to Bulgaria with the assignment to uncover new opportunities in the service of our common cause, based on the existing positive foundations. We can say with joy that our aspiration was welcomed with full unanimity and that our talks were inspired by the common desire to further intensify our cooperation.

During the negotiations we drew primary attention to the development of our economic relations. Hitherto we have attained great results in this respect; nevertheless, we have not by any means exhausted all opportunities in this connection. We therefore consider it gratifying that in our present talks we adopted a decision for joint, new measures to further expand production sharing, measures aimed at overfulfilling the envisaged trade supplies and at outlining the tasks for the period following 1980.

I can also note with satisfaction that our cultural and scientific cooperation is becoming increasingly varied and expanding in scope and that our tourist exchange is expanding according to plan, which represents an important factor in the intensification of the friendship between our two peoples.

For fully understandable reasons our talks also devoted great importance to a review of the international situation. I can assess with satisfaction that on the basic questions of foreign policy our two points of view also coincide. We are mutually resolved, together with the Soviet Union and with the other countries of the socialist community, to continue to do

everything in our power to consolidate peace and security and to transform peaceful coexistence and the process of detente into irreversible processes, despite all the machinations of the extremist imperialist circles. We are struggling for the reduction of the arms race, we are devoting efforts to the unconditional implementation of the CSCE final document, we express solidarity with the Arab and South African peoples and with the peoples of the other regions of the world who are fighting for their liberation and for the right of national self-determination. Everywhere and always we are supporting the forces of progress and peace.

Dear Comrade Todorov, dear comrades, I am deeply convinced that our present talks will give a new incentive to the further expansion of the relations between our two countries, to the wide and efficient development of our cooperation.

On behalf of all of us, I express warm gratitude for the cordial and friendly hospitality you have shown us. On behalf of all our people I wish you new successes in building a developed socialist society.

I propose a toast to the splendid Bulgarian people, to the further flourishing of the fraternal Bulgarian People's Republic;

--to the BCP, which has a great past, and to its Central Committee headed by our esteemed friend, Comrade Todor Zhivkov;

--to the indestructible friendship between our two peoples;

--to our dear host, Comrade Stanko Todorov, and to the health of all our Bulgarian friends!

WESTERN OBSTRUCTIONISM IN ISSUING VISAS SCORED

Budapest LOBOGO in Hungarian 18 Aug 77 pp 8-9

[Article by Peter Berkes: "In Passport Matters"]

[Excerpts] "Each Hungarian citizen has the right to receive a passport and to travel abroad, inasmuch as the person qualifies according to the conditions specified in the regulations." (Quoted from law decree No 4, 1970, issued by the Presidential Council) In 1960, some 299,000 Hungarians traveled abroad while in 1976, the number was 3.9 million. During the first 5 months of 1977 (before the summer's peak traffic), 1,097,000 traveled abroad. That is approximately 15 percent more than in the similar period of last year.

The Hungarian state exerts significant financial and organizational efforts in order that its citizens may travel freely, satisfying their natural desires and their cultural needs. We may travel to the friendly socialist countries practically without limit, with ample financial coverage, after extraordinarily simple and fast handling of requests. Request handling of our Western travels is also getting simpler, faster, and broader year by year. The state- from its foreign currency earned in various sectors of the economy—spends appreciable sums (sells it to its citizens at the official rate of exchange) to finance these trips.

There is no mish-mash in granting exit permits, passports and foreign currency for the fare. The passport regulation, and every national security, political, criminal, and financial reason for exclusion in it, is public, anyone may look at it. The organs in authority answer every request with schedule-like accuracy (and with ever shorter deadlines) and on the occasional refusals always relate the reasons openly and clearly. Practically without exception, the reasons for rejection these days have a financial background, that is, the limits of the National Bank's foreign currency budget received for this purpose. But even these occur in decreasing frequency. Let's just remember: earlier, "there were difficulties" with the authorization of those planning to travel West with small children. Many suspected "political reasons," thinking that this is how they try to prevent the leaving of entire families. In reality, the only issue was that the authorities, since they were unable to grant foreign currency separately on the account of a small

child, did not consider provisions for them assured. But now, since last May, there is also a budget for small children and, if there is no other reason for exclusion, the road is open.

Lajos Urge, chief of the population section of the main department of foreign currency authorization and control of the National Bank:

--The National Bank attempts to cover with the foreign currency budget made available to it, that, for which the money was received: the mass demands of tourists. In practice, this means that we fulfill 85-90 percent of the citizens' tourist requirements. Only 10-15 percent, some artisans with more money, or small retailers and intellectuals complain that they cannot travel West every year. For the time being, we would only be able to accommodate their demands at the expense of the interests of the masses. We would have to say no to that average Hungarian who is able to afford money and vacation on a more expensive Western trip only every 2 or 3 years, but then he does want to do it.

--Our opportunities for financing are broadening year by year, and we spend this expansion to cover the increasing needs of the masses. For example, we are compensating for inflation. Among other things, this is why we increased the "rate of allowance" from \$70 at one time to today's \$194. This is why we increased the amount given for automobile fuel, the last time in March of this year, also granting the opportunity for the citizen who travels to several countries—if he has the visa for the country in question—to choose fuel allowance for the country giving him the most favorable return.

--The bank calculates the given foreign currency budget for 2 weeks. For 2 weeks' living expenses, and nothing else because this is the mass demand. This is what the average person wants (can afford) to allow himself. If he wants to stay longer, he may, but then he must economize. There are, of course, understandable objective extra desires, and the bank tries to accommodate these as much as it is able to do so. According to the present rules of the game, if there is no reason for exclusion, we are able to fulfill all realistic desires.

(And let's add: the process is faster than in earlier years. Accepted 30-day request handling usually takes 2 weeks, thanks to the computer installed, and the sacrificing work of the bank's employees, who take care of even the peak loads.)

The Hungarian authorities are less and less the cause for the complaints of some because of the length and complicated nature of handling the cases of certain Western trips. They are more responsible for complaints regarding ["granting of visas"]. Tourists may travel only to Finland besides the socialist countries without visa. Obtaining the visa, if it can be done, is quite complicated. A Western trouist traveling to Hungary can request—and receive—an entry visa even at the border in minutes. He must fill out a blank of 12 simple questions, there is only one relatively touchy question among them: if he was a Hungarian citizen, when did he leave Hungary? But

if a Hungarian travels to Western countries, he can run from embassy to embassy—or the IBUSZ [Touring, Money Changing, Travelling, and Shipping Co. Ltd.] runs for him, for 30 forints per visa—and for some visas he must fill out pages. For a visa to the United States, for example, he must answer 34 questions. Among others: "His places of residence in Hungary where he lived for more than 6 months since the age of 16, with exact notation of addresses and dates; List what organizations (political, cultural, trade union, social, etc.) he was or is a member of in Hungary and elsewhere." Then he waits patiently. There are embassies, where due to lack of manpower, the visa requests wait for long weeks—though the situation has recently improved somewhat. So: how is that again...?

8584

HUNGARY

BOOK ON DEFENSE OF NATIONAL MINORITY RIGHTS REVIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Aug 77 p 10

/Article by Istvan Csasztvay: "Minority-Nationality"/

Text/ We still remember that press conference well over a year ago at which representatives of the domestic and international press were informed about research in the world of folklore of the nationalities living in our country, and the rich results of that research. (That was when the volumes of study reviewing the objective and spiritual folklore of Hungary's Southern Slavs, Slovaks, Romanians and Germans were introduced and given to members of the press present.) A few weeks ago, domestic research on nationalities was enriched by another volume:

Laszlo Kovago analyzes the question's theoretical and international legal history aspects under the title "Minority--Nationality," with the rich contents of the small volume doing valiant battle with its 8-quire size.

For years, a debate was carried on in VOPROSI ISTORII /Questions of History/ about interpretation of the concept of nation, and the magazine's eighth issue of 1970 summarized the conclusions of the debate. The United Nations Organization's general secretary organized a seminar in Ohrid in the summer of 1974, and on the basis of his invitation, the topic "Support and protection of the human rights of national, ethnic and other minorities" was debated. Laszlo Kovago now, on the one hand, introduces the question's theoretical history by working up rich source materials, using international and domestic documentation relating to this issue, and on the other hand clearly outlines the principles of the Hungarian People's Republic's nationality policy, and our practices serving to carry out these principles.

The Southern Slavs, Germans, Romanians, Slovaks living together with us have been integrated into Hungary's society: they consider their native land as their home country, are loyal citizens of socialist Hungary, and are building the socialist society together with citizens of Hungarian nationality. They settled into our country's socio-economic life in such a way that they kept their nationality, clung to their native tongues, cultures, traditions, and our state makes it possible for them to use

and foster these. Laszlo Kovago emphasizes: The goal of our nationality policy is -- according to the Leninist principles -- to integrate the nationality population without assimilating them. We consider assimilation of nationality population to be contrary to our principles. We recognize that assimilation is an existing historical process, and it would be futile to attempt to stop it, but the constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic prohibits the forcing or rushing of meltingin, and our laws punish it.

This policy of the Hungarian People's Republic -- the author concludes -is in harmony with the Declaration of Human Rights, according to which it constitutes deplorable, disadvantageous discrimination if, on the basis of nationality or language differences, some people or groups are not provided the opportunity to participate in the rights, to which all people are entitled, of using and learning their native language, caring for their culture, practicing their traditions. And, reading the volume, we can also recognize our everyday tasks more exactly. In further working out the correct nationality policy outlook, in answering the open questions -- Laszlo Kovago points out -- great tasks await the Marxist-Leninist social sciences, and the internationalist-spirited nationality policies of the socialist countries. Even thus far, it has been to a large part due to the efforts of certain socialist countries that the minority issue receives consideration with increasing frequency in bi-lateral and other international agreements. The number of topics serving people in getting closer to each other is also on the increase. The socialist countries also have a significant role in the United Nations Organization which can gradually become the forum for minority problems existing in the world.

The program declaration adapted at the 11th congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party pointed out the great tasks of the correct nationality policy in developing the internal relationships in countries building socialism, and in general, in the deepening of friendly links between peoples and states, increasing their cooperation and mutual trust. Laszlo Kovago's volume can now become a useful aid in the realization of this policy.

8584

U.S. NUCLEAR FORCE DEVELOPMENT, MILITARY DOCTRINE SURVEYED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 4 Sep 77 p 7 AU

[Article by Lt Col Laszlo Serfozo: "By Our Military Commentator; Attempt To Legalize Nuclear War"]

[Text] As has been briefly reported by the daily press, U.S. President Carter has issued a directive ordering the modification of U.S. strategic concepts and military doctrine. Without any doubt whatsoever, what emerges from the document is that, turning his back on his election promises and yielding to pressure from influential military and military-industry groups, the White House incumbent, barely half a year after assuming office, gives top priority to the further development of strategic strike [csapasmero] forces. This is justified by the usual argument: the United States—it is claimed—"must not land in a disadvantageous position in this area" vis—avis the Soviet Union.

Even before the directive was issued, preliminary decisions relating to the establishment of a system of so-called cruise missiles, "MX"-type intercontinental ballistic missiles mounted on new mobile launchers, and the development of the neutron bomb, which also falls into the category of strategic weapons, indicated that the Pentagon was concerned not only with theoretical research on waging various kinds of wars but with the elaboration of weapons and weapons systems consistent with new concepts. From a political and military policy viewpoint, it is impossible not to notice this parallel line and the increase in artificial obstacles to a Soviet-U.S. SALT II agreement.

When we hear more and more often nowadays that to attain its global strate-gic objectives the United States must regain its "position of strength," it is not difficult to discover the intention inherent in the President's directive. In a broader sense, the attempt we are witnessing today is, in fact, an integral part of the political and economic and—closely connected with them—military efforts of U.S. imperialism. These efforts are aimed at restoring—at least in the capitalist world—the hegemony shaken after the "Vietnam shock," breaking out of the defensive position and welding

together international reaction in the service of U.S. strategy against the socialist countries in order to generally slow down and, if possible, even reverse the world revolutionary process.

How is this undisguised aspiration reflected in a few novel features of U.S. military doctrine based on "realistic deterrence," features that are not very new politically? Let us proceed from the fact that, prior to the presidential directive, a new classification of possible kinds of wars had been accepted in Washington and that this "classification" has been raised to official status in the meantime. In considering the priorities of U.S. military policy, Carter has made far-reaching allowances to conclusions arising from this.

In the modern system of the U.S. strategic concepts developed at the beginning of the seventies—which continued to develop in conformity with the changing world situation during Ford's presidency and Schlesinger's tenure as secretary of defense—a strategic nuclear war, which could only break out between the imperialist and socialist coalitions, is put first among possible wars.

As Pentagon experts see it, in a general and "total" armed conflict, the combatant sides would go all out and utilize all available means in an attempt to obtain their political objectives. In such a conflict, annihilating nuclear strikes would be inflicted not only on military forces and objects but on the extreme rear area as well. Since the United States possesses the overwhelming portion of the capitalist countries' strategic offensive weapons, the United States reserves the most important decision—making role in NATO for itself. In accordance with this role, U.S. forces—primarily strategic strike forces—are equipped with the latest type of nuclear—missile weapons, including cruise missiles and, if Carter so decides soon, with neutron bombs and warheads. In the event these weapons are used, U.S. military experts attach great significance in particular to the surprise factor, to an unexpected strike—that is, to a method of warfare always characteristic of the aggressor.

Pentagon theoreticians regard a regional nuclear war as one of the varieties of possible wars. They rate it number one, as compared with total nuclear-missile warfare [as published], and it is their opinion that it could also break out between imperialist countries and the countries of the socialist community, and break out in Europe. It is characteristic that, even after consultations with his advisers in recent months, Carter regards the European theater as the most likely "explosive area." In such a so-called regional nuclear conflict, the United States, as leading U.S. circles presume, would be able to set regional objectives giving itself the most favorable conditions without becoming directly involved in a total nuclear clash.

The cynicism of the idea is so obvious that it has shocked even fairly sober-minded West European politicians. The planned systematic deployment

of the neutron bomb with the U.S. Seventh Army stationed in West Europe and the possible equipment of the integrated NATO forces with cruise missiles has prompted the governments of numerous West European countries to considerations more inclined to realism, precisely because of the tremendous risks that are anticipated.

The U.S. expectation that in a regional nuclear war, owing to the limited political objectives to be attained, the armed conflict that breaks out could be kept within certain limits is nothing but eyewash. In vain, they try to blur the dividing line between conventional and nuclear weapons and try to make it appear to their allies that it is possible to work out some sort of "rules of the game" for the "self-limitation" or, say, "self-moderation" of the combatant sides. The inherent laws of war--and even people unfamiliar with military matters know this--are cruel. It is obvious that, if a conflict broke out, it would hardly be possible to prevent its turning into a general nuclear war.

NATO views on the "permissibility" of the use of the neutron bomb and any other mass destructive weapon in the "strategic" category and the lies disseminated about a "humanization" of war are particularly dangerous because they would like to politically legalize nuclear war itself. The U.S. allegations are ridiculous that the "selected objective" warfare linked to former Secretary of Defense Schlesinger's name—in which, allegedly, nuclear weapons would be used only in the area of military operations and only against military objectives—would facilitate a "reduction to the minimum" of losses among the civilian population. This is sheer absurdity since, both in Europe and in the United States, most military objectives are in densely populated areas. Only recently Pentagon experts calculated that at least 10 million people would be killed if a nuclear response strike were made at the Whiteman air base complex in the state of Missouri; and the loss of life would be even greater if a series of nuclear strikes of the megaton dimension were made at military objectives.

The experience of military history tangibly proves that it is easier to prevent war than to limit it in any way. The view is wrong and irresponsible that holds that "mutual deterrence" and the increase of military potential constitute the cardinal guarantee for security and peace. This is not true. At most, forcing the arms race, the U.S. endeavor to gain strategic superiority—which is, incidentally, an unrealistic goal vis—a-vis the Soviet Union—can spoil the political atmosphere, but it can hardly alter the fundamental balance of power.

One must agree with APN commentator S. Kozlov when he says: "U.S. leaders are nurturing a vain hope. They are no longer capable of achieving the superior strength they so much desire in the arms race. The Soviet Union has sufficient means that it need not retreat before a possible adversary. The strategic balance cannot be reversed and nobody can be permitted to upset it... The purpose of the SALT talks is not to upset the balance that has developed, but to reduce armaments on the basis of parity. And the lower this level is, the greater security could become."

POLAND

TU PUBLICATION CRITICIZES U.S. STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD ZWIAZKOWY in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 77, pp 51-54

[Article by Igor Giejewski: "What Can Really Be Seen in the Glass House"]

[Text] Recently official personalities in Washington opened a campaign of propaganda in an attempt to appear as defenders of human rights throughout the world and to present the United States as a model for other countries. In this connection the English proverb, "He who lives in a glass house, should not throw stones," comes to mind.

The United States is a country of extreme social inequality, a country with 250,000 millionaires and 25 million citizens living at the level officially recognized as poverty. For years the number of unemployed in the United States has fluctuated between 7 and 10 million people. Capitalist exploitation, racial discrimination (the average wage of Negroes is 60 percent of the average wage of a white worker), inequality of women, oppression for divergent political opinions, antilabor legislation, rampant crime, none of these things (and this is really not all!) predisposes the United States for the role of mentor in matters of social justice.

One of the most important rights of man is the right to work. The statement of human rights in the international pact begins with the right to work. In the pact which has been compulsory since 1976, it states that: "States ratifying the pact recognize the right to work, which means the right of every human being to enjoy the opportunity to earn a living by work. These states will take suitable steps to guarantee realization of this right." The United States has never complied with this most important human right. They have not even complied with their own law on employment of 1946, which proclaimed a policy of guaranteeing work to all who can and wish to work and who are looking for work. For more than 30 years this has been a paper law.

The fact that workers have received benefits paid for a few weeks, as a result of long years of struggle, does not reduce their material and moral difficulties. In the program of the Democrats during the presidential elections of 1976, it was stated that: "In people unemployment causes anxiety, fear of unpaid bills, loss of a feeling of dignity, strained family relationships, restrictions on one's ability to satisfy the needs of children and youth, alcoholism, narcomania and crime. Work represents one of the main criteria of the position of an individual in society, and shows whether he is a full-fledged or a useless member of this society." It is difficult not to agree with this, but if this criterium is applied in practice, it turns out that in the United States millions of citizens are deprived of the right to be full-fledged members of society.

This same Democratic party program states: "Something is radically wrong if there is work and people who want to work are unemployed." This "something" is nothing but the social structure, the American way of life. The bourgeois party of the Democrats tried to explain this "something" in another way. The entire blame is cast upon the party of the Republicans, who were in power for the last 8 years. However, the leadership of the Democratic party fails to mention that there were also millions of unemployed in the United States when their party exercised authority.

In the United States other political and civic rights of Americans are also infringed upon. Here are a few general data on this subject. On the staff of the FBI more than 500,000 files are kept, arranged and complemented on the basis of information from agents. The number of these files rises constantly. In 1972 65,000 new files were set up. They usually contain data referring to several persons or to complete organizations. Therefore the total number of United States citizens under FBI control amounts to several million. In addition the regional FBI branches have a considerable number of files.

Between 1955 and 1975 the FBI carried out 740,000 investigations involving the revolutionary activity of Americans and 190,000 cases concerning so-called extremists. The FBI also has a whole army of informers. There are more than 7,000 agents in Negro circles alone. In 1976 twice as much was spent for agents investigating "disloyal" citizens than for FBI employees involved in the struggle against Mafia's.

Other agencies and institutions are also busy investigating citizens on a mass scale in the United States. We learned from David Wise's book, "The Lawless State," that until recently the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) also investigated citizens of the United States. A secret section was organized in the IRS in 1969 under the name Special Service Staff, [SSS].

The IRS, employing 88,000 employees, with 700 offices throughout the entire country and having a budget of more than \$2 billion, is one of the most powerful American agencies and one of the ones arousing the greatest fear.

The average American may not have any contacts with the FBI, CIA, NSA or other intelligence agencies, but at least once a year on 15 April he has to deal with the IRS. By this date he must submit his income tax return for the last year.

In filling out the income tax returns the Americans supply the federal government with a tremendous amount of information, not only about their sources of income, and methods of borrowing and spending money, but also about which physicians care for them, where they travel, when they buy and sell houses, and so on and so forth. More than 80 million individual payers fill out a long, unduly complicated questionnaire every year and send it to the IRS. The information contained in the questionnaires is computerized and stored in the IRS information bank in Martinsburg, Virginia.

Individual income taxes are the greatest source of revenue for the federal government of the United States. In 1977 they will probably bring the federal government the sum of \$153.6 billion. The IRS has enormous authority in exacting this money, and therefore it can require information about all of the financial operations of citizens, and can place liens on their homes, automobiles, bank accounts, factories and real estate, if it adjudges that the state is being cheated.

In June 1969 a secretary on the Nixon staff, Tom Huston, conferred with a group of conservative collaborators on the staff, known by the name of "Committee of Seven." The participants in the meeting suggested that Nixon recommend that the IRS investigate matters of tax relief for leftist social organizations. On 16 June 1969 Tom Huston met with the head of the IRS, Thrower, to whom he presented the names of several tax exempt organizations. Their affairs were to be "investigated." The matter was handled by the SSS.

Deep in the basements of the main quarters in Washington, the SSS compiled 11,458 notes about 8,585 persons and 2,873 organizations. The section became a secret intelligence agency working within IRS and prepared action of the "Operation Chaos" type organized by the CIA. It had close connections with the FBI, with military intelligence and other intelligence agencies. After it was established (in 1973), it received more than 11,000 reports from the FBI.

The SSS was responsible for collecting material on the subject of "ideological, aggressive, diversive, radical" and other organizations and persons of this type. One of the official IRS documents states that the targets of SSS investigations were "violent groups," composed of terrorists, airplane hijackers and so forth," as well as "groups and individuals acting non-violently," along with young people who had burned their draft cards, demonstrators in antiwar marches, and persons "organizing and participating in rock music festivals attracting young people and drug addicts." Just like the FBI, the IRS became an instrument of control, expressing judgments in reference to political opinions and cultural preferences of citizens of the United States.

Among the "suspected" groups and individuals were the mayor of New York, John Lindsay, the journalist Joseph Kraft, the wife of Martin Luther King, Correta, the entire state university of South Carolina, the Ford Foundation, the American Library Association, the National Urban League, the American Civil Liberties Union and so on.

The IRS collects information about all taxpayers whose names are found in the SSS lists, of whom more than 200 were investigated and some accused of criminal offenses. The SSS obtained more than 10,000 names from the special intelligence unit of the Department of Justice. In the final report of the Church Congressional Commission on Watergate we read that the names delivered to the SSS section were not the names of people suspected of tax crimes, but "people and groups prosecuted more for their political viewpoints, ideological beliefs and activity."

On 16 August 1941 John Dean, one of the closest of Nixon's collaborators, wrote a note which can be treated as a classic explanation of the philosophy of the Nixon administration. Its author confirms: "The note refers to matters of maximal use of our supremacy in dealing with persons known to be actively opposed to the administration. Speaking more simply, it was a matter of using the federal machinery available to us to oppress our political enemies."

According to Dean the White House did not have to use specially developed methods to fight the enemy. The only thing necessary was an appropriate "coordinator of efforts." It was necessary to learn from key members of government "teams" whose lives were to be disrupted. The coordinator was to have full support of the administration of all federal agencies in fighting the political opponents.

In reply to the above-mentioned note, Charles Colson sent Dean a "list of opponents", containing 20 names including the name of the publisher of the LOS ANGELES TIMES, Edwin O. Guthman, the advisor of mayor Lindsay, Sidney Davidiff, the leading Negro congressman and opponent of Nixon, John Conyers from Detroit, Daniel Shorr from the CBS television program and Mary McGrory of the WASHINGTON STAR.

On 11 September, not quite 3 months after the Watergate burglary, the IRS head Walters was summoned to John Dean's office. The presidential advisor handed the head of the IRS a list with the names of 490 members of the staff and supporters of the Democratic senator McGovern, the candidate opposing Nixon for the position of president.

In handing Walters the list, Dean recommended that the IRS investigate the tax matters of all of the people mentioned in it.

This was the longest list of White House enemies, and contained the names of Congresswoman Bella Abzug, the former Democratic IRS head, Mortimer Caplin, the actors Shirley McLaine, Burt Lancaster, Paul Newman and Gene Hackman, the scientist and politician Kenneth Galbraith, the chairman of the Democratic party, Lawrence O'Brien and many many other McGovern supporters.

Washington and the American press are opposed to personal contacts between United States citizens and socialist countries. These are human rights and are recognized as civic freedoms. At the same time, in the course of 20 years, the CIA photographed more than 215,000 letters sent from the USSR or sent to the USSR from the United States. The same thing happened with the correspondence of United States citizens with citizens of other socialist countries. Other offices are also involved in checking correspondence. For example, the National Security Council concluded a secret agreement with three large telegraph agencies, and checked about one million private telegrams in 1947-1975.

Military intelligence, which has set up files on 100,000 persons, also investigates Americans. These include the outstanding pediatrician and proponent of peace, Benjamin Spock, the pastor William Koforin, the singer Jean Bayes and others. Military intelligence has agents in antiwar, Negro and other organizations.

All of the data cited comes from the report of the meeting of the Senate Commission which examined the activity of intelligence organs in 1976. It did not reveal everything, but what it disclosed is enough to provide an idea of the widely advertised freedom in bourgeois actuality. The United States primarily uses its penal and repressive mechanism whenever a struggle in the defense of social rights and interests breaks out. In 1969 the police arrested 4,000 students, and divisions of the National Guard occupied university communities 127 times. In May 1970 the National Guard opened fire on unarmed students, four of whom died and scores of whom were injured. None of the perpetrators or instigators of this crime were brought to justice. On the contrary 25 students went to trial.

Some political activists in America then expressed an opinion favoring the use of further and more drastic methods against "disloyal" United States citizens. Among them were the then governor of Georgia, James Carter. In this connection the NEW YORK TIMES wrote on 25 October 1976: "Appearing in student communities during the current electoral campaign, McCarthy (a former senator who worked actively to terminate the war in Vietnam at the end of the 1960's and at the beginning of the 1970's, PRZEGLAD ZWIAZKOWY) always recalled that after the bloody events at Kent University, Carter declared that all of the members of the National Guard should be given live ammunition and recommendations to fire if student unrest was repeated." Carter has not denied this.

Attempts are being made at the present time to produce the feeling that all of the investigations of million of citizens and the oppression of persons of different convictions belong to the past. Actually the so-called reform of the FBI and other similar offices led to the removal of a few persons in high positions and to minor administrative changes. Not a single link in the repressive system of the United States has been disconnected, and activity against progressive Americans continues. In "The Lawless State" we read: "All available data testifies to the fact that the "cointelpro" program (a code for FBI action against progressive Americans) is continuing, but under a different name. The FBI can continue to hide its activity with the cloak of secrecy, has gigantic files available, and is able to use extortion and other dirty methods." The CIA, the National Security Council, Pentagon intelligence and other groups are continuing to investigate and prosecute citizens of different convictions. Recently 10 of the opponents of racism, with Ben Chavis at their head, were imprisoned. In April of this year a Negro poet, active in the movement for the rights of black Americans, Assata Shakur, was sentenced to prison on the basis of false testimony by provocateurs. Ben Chavis stated: "The misrepresentation of the American authorities is revolting. They state that human rights are not observed in other countries, but close their eyes to the extreme disregard of these rights in the United States. The 10 of us were arrested so that we could not mobilize people in the struggle against racism."

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ROME PUBLICATION COMMENTS ON POLISH CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Warsaw ZA I PRZECIW in Polish No 29, 17 Jul 77 pp 1, 10

[Article by W. K.: "Constructive Dialog"]

[Text] In the columns of our publication we have stated many times that there are numerous fields of our national issues in which the voice and activeness of the Catholics can be taken as a valuable contribution to our social life. We also emphasized that the fact of the coexistence in Poland of the believers and non-believers and dissimilarities of world outlook attitudes associated with this, should not lead to divisions in our society, but should serve to enrich the context of public life and the common search for the most fitting solutions of the existing problems.

Also, it is no mystery that the Polish clergy together with our bishops exhibit an active concern for exactly such a Catholic input into the societywide problem and that the Conference of the Polish Episcopate every so often presents the Catholic view in these fields, or turns directly to the people of God or even, in certain instances, forwards its assessments to the responsible organs of the Republic [Polish People's Republic].

The serious and representative Rome publication CIVILITA CATTOLICA recently published an article entitled: "The Polish Episcopate and the Demographic Problems of the Country." The author, Giovanni Caprille, presents in the article extensive views of the Polish bishops pertaining to our demographic problem and family issues and also solutions insuring the development of a young and dynamic society for the immediate and distant future. The author informs his readers that a memorandum on these issues was forwarded to the Polish authorities. CIVILITA CATTOLICA quotes also the text of the reply of the secretary of the Council of State, citizen Ludomir Stasiak, who states that that memorandum "was keenly studied" and also notes that the implementation of the presently introduced comprehensive program of social and economic transformations creates conditions for the success of the optimum population policy which requires "concentration of the power of our entire society around the tasks of this nationwide program."

Such an exchange of views, constructive in its context and positive in its form, constitutes one of the characteristic features of the development of relations between the Church and the State over the recent years. thing of great worth that such a serious Rome organ, which the CIVILITA CATTOLICA is, not only perceives but positively assesses our Polish achievements in this field. We are emphasizing this with this greater approbation because recently in the West European press, not excluding the Catholic publications, tendentious information can be encountered, most clearly aiming to thrust on their readers a picture of Poland in falsified colors and proportions. Religious affairs and Church-State relations are shown sometimes pretty nearly exclusively as one train of conflicts and sinister intrigues. The author of the article in CIVILITA CATTOLICA, commenting on the constructive exchange of views between the Episcopate and the government, in conclusion asks: "What kind of an echo would a similar memorandum have in Italy." And he states: "Speaking frankly, it would be condemned as another interference of the Church in State affairs." It is rather paradoxical then from the contents of the article that it was written not only to show the true face of Polish relations but also to admonish and encourage a similar dialogue of the Church in Italy with ruling leaders-of the Italian Christian democracy.

Similarly as in Poland, where recently there was a broad press debate on the subject of the assumptions of demographic policy, in Italy for some time a big dispute is being waged around the question of legalizing abortion. This is not the place for an analysis of the specific moral and demographic problems of the Italians. The entire matter, besides, has quieted down at the present time, because the draft of such a law did not find support in the Italian parliament. CIVILITA CATTOLICA—and there is no doubt that this—devoted so much room to the Polish natality and family protection problems in order to, thereby, influence the attitude of the Italian deputies on the day before this weighty debate. However, it took advantage simultaneously of the opportunity to upbraid the politicians of Italian Christian democracy that it attached insufficient weight to the views expressed on these matters by their own bishops.

It is clear that the conditions of public life in Italy and in Poland cannot be mechanically compared. Not only do we differ in our systems but also the economic-social relations of both countries over the past 30 years have developed along other paths. During that period, the Christian Democratic Party in Italy was in power without interruption and on it the entire burden of responsibility for the immeasurably difficult and tense, from every aspect, internal situation of that country presses heavily.

Therefore, we leave this assessment by the Italian journalist of the problem of the actual forms of dialog on public issues between the government and the Episcopate in Italy without commentary. On the other hand, as always, we greet with satisfaction that when, irrespective of considerations of the existing state of affairs, the West European Catholic press perceives and presents constructive experiences in an objectivized manner which the dynamic development of People's Poland brings.

NATO ARMS DEVELOPMENT ASSAILED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 33, 14 Aug 77 pp 10-11

[Article by St. Miekiniak: "NATO: New Armament Phase"]

[Text] The hullabaloo about the cruise missile and the neutron bomb is just a smoke screen for many other large scale armament projects in the United States and the remaining NATO countries. The neutron bomb, if eventually it goes into production despite the protests of a significant segment of American public opinion, will undoubtedly raise the armament ceiling (it can be considered to be one more type of low yield nuclear weapon). Of much greater importance, however, is the implementation of the Trident program and the equipping of strategic missiles with the MK 112 warheads, which have high impact accuracy. The self-guided cruise missiles also constitute a new qualitative element in the Pentagon arsenal which, as we have reported before, further complicates the ongoing Soviet--American SALT II negotiations. The latest information indicates that the next fiscal year budget of the United States Department of Defense will total 118 billion dollars inasmuch as the sum of 106.7 billion allocated directly to the Pentagon must be increased by the outlays for military scientific research and the amount alloted to an institution like the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), the very company which developed the technology of neutron warheads.

Also, a new rung on the armament ladder has been achieved by the Federal Republic of Germany. The planned production of 1,800 Leopard 2 tanks and building of a series of six class 122 frigates will consume DM7.7 billion in the next few years. Additionally, production has started of the propeller driven anti-tank aircraft PAH 1 which are armed with "Hot" missiles. In this case the cost will be DM858 million. Recently, the appropriate committees of the Bundestag approved the implementation of production programs which will increase the Luftwaffe combat strength. These are the Tornado and Alpha Jet aircraft programs which are produced jointly with other NATO states. These plans are spread over a few years but nevertheless they already constitute a serious burden on the FRG national budget and individual taxpayers. On the subject of military expenditure per inhabitant, in the FRG it amounts currently to 242 dollars per year while in other NATO countries it averages 169 dollars. Thus, West Germany is clearly in the forefront

of military expenditure and undoubtedly this is one of the reasons why the position of deputy commander of the NATO forces in Western Europe was awarded to the FRG Armed Forces.

The military budget of the FRG increased by 67 percent in the years 1970-1977, that is during the period when power was held by the coalition of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Free Democratic Party, and this year it reached the record sum of DM33.8 billion. One-third of this amount is designated for procurement of new weapons, research and construction. This is the background of the stubborn position of the Bonn representative at the Vienna conference for reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe; the position which consists of the refusal to discuss any proposals affecting directly the Federal Armed Forces.

The other member states of NATO do not have financial resources like the United States and the FRG, but nevertheless they try to comply with the demand to increase their military spending by 3 percent annually. Such a demand was formulated recently by the NATO Planning Committee and is supported by the so-called Eurogroup. Great Britain is implementing its own program of building combat and reconnaissance aircraft, increasing the production of Chieftain tanks and simultaneously attempting to modernize the weapons of the Army of the Rhine. A few other states have purchased or are planning to purchase (compare with "the contract of the century" and other agreements) significant quantities of equipment in the United States. The bargaining related to the AWACS early warning system is still in progress but it seems that in that case also the interests of armaments concerns will prevail.

Finally, capitalist countries in the West, obviously including the NATO states, are going through an economic depression, not to say crisis. It is interesting that the business slowdown somehow does not include the armament producers who, one hears, are making good profits on sales to their own armies and on exports. The militaristic propaganda suggests that armament production is necessary, if for no other reason than to provide places of employment, but it "forgets" to add that the cost of armament is borne by the whole society through increased taxes and the effects of higher inflation, not to mention the costs of improper use of the production potential, financial resources and raw materials. But perhaps all this should be considered as the organic elements of the capitalist world...

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DEFENSE MINISTER WATCHES MANEUVERS IN POMERANIA

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 7 Sep 77 p 1 AU

[Report by Col M. Nowinski: "Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Politburo Member and Minister of National Defense, Among Soldiers at a Training Range"]

[Text] The concluding stage of the troop's annual training programs, which is characterized by coordinating exercises at training ranges, is continuing. These exercises are the crowning glory of annual achievements and constitute an important test of the combat prowess of subunits and units. During these exercises the soldiers demonstrate their skills acquired during the previous stages of training and the commanders, staffs and various services improve the organization of combat command, the regrouping of troops and the field conditions of troops. At the same time, intensive party-political work continues.

At one of the coastline training ranges in the Pomeranian District the troops participating in the exercise have eliminated an "enemy" aerial and sea assault in keeping with the provisions of training. On the fourth day of the exercise, units reached the coast and took up defense positions, repulsing successive attacks by the "enemy" while organizing a system of fire and engineering obstacles.

Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, watched this stage of the exercise. He was accompanied by Gen Wlodzimierz Sawczuk, vice minister of national defense and chief of the main political administration of the Polish Armed Forces; Maj Gen Dr Zygmunt Zielinski, head of the Cadre Department of the Ministry of National Defense; and Maj Gen Jerzy Skalski, deputy chief of the general staff of the Polish Armed Forces, Maj Gen Wojciech Baranski, commander of the Pomerian Military District and Vice Adm Ludwik Janczyszyn, commander of the navy, were present.

The Minister of National Defense displayed interest in the work of the commanders, staffs and services preparing decisions with regard to the

defense of specific sectors of the coastline and watched the operations against the aerial and sea assault of the "enemy."

Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski talked with many commanders of the units and subunits in the exercise, including Lt Ryszard Jankowiak, Lt Leslaw Piatek and 2d Lt Zdzislaw Kantok as well as with their soldiers. He asked questions about the service of these soldiers, about their training achievements and preparations for introducing new regulations, and about their personal affairs. He thanked them for their selflessness during the exercise and congratulated them on their successes, with which they help enrich the good traditions of their units.

The exercise demonstrated that the commanders and soldiers are well aware of their tasks of constantly enhancing combat readiness. This is why the minister of national defense praised the commanders and soldiers who demonstrate great militancy and initiative in implementing their training tasks under all conditions, including difficult field conditions. He also discussed the most essential observations made during the exercise and indicated how one should exploit the possibilities afforded by range training for further improving the skills of soldiers and the performance of commanders and staffs.

Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and his aides visited the Franciszek Zubrzycki Naval Specialists' Training Center and studied its process of education and its living conditions. He then toured the training-instruction base.

The minister of national defense also visited a unit of the Home Air Defense Forces.

DECREE ON STATE ALLOCATION FOR CHILDREN

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 79, 1 Aug 77 pp 1-4

/Decree of the State Council on the State Allocation for Children/

/Text/ As part of the party policy of multilaterally developing the socialist society, the state pays great attention to the upbringing and education of children and to their multilateral molding and training for life and work.

In the context of this concern, in addition to the conditions ensured to all children for their physical and mental development, the state grants material support to large families. For this purpose the state appropriates great monetary amounts in the form of the state allocation for children.

In order to upgrade the legal framework for granting these allocations.

The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees the following:

Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. (1) In the Socialist Republic of Romania the state protects and supports large families, for the purpose of providing every condition to ensure the upbringing and education of children and the multilateral training of the young generation for life and work.

(2) Within the framework of the material support to families, the state grants the state allocation for children under 16 years of age, in the care of the family, under the terms of this decree.

Article 2. (1) The state allocation for children shall be granted on a monthly basis, in differentiated amounts, according to the number of children dependents in the family, the incomes of the allocation recipient, and the area of residence -- urban or rural.

(2) The recipients of the state allocation for children must use it only for the children's care.

Chapter II. Size of State Allocation for Children

Article 3. (1) The sizes as well as the ceilings for incomes and the number of children in light of which the state allocation for children is established are the following:

		Ceilings of Monthly			Incomes	
	Area	Up to 1800	1801 2300	2301 2800	2801 3350	3351 4450
For the first child For the second child For the third child For the fourth child For the fifth child For the sixth child For the seventh child For the eighth child For the heighth child For the heighth child For the heighth child For the heighth child For the ninth	Urban Rural Urban	210 140 220 160 250 180 250 180 270 210 290 220 300 230 310	170 180 120 210 140 210 140 210 140 250 180 260 190 270	140 80 160 180 120 180 120 140 210 140 220 160 250	140 80 140 160 160 160 160 180 120 120 140 220	140 80 140 140 140 140 140 170 180 190 130 210
and following children	Rural	250	210	180	160	140

(2) The size of the state allocation for children specified in Paragraph (1) shall be applied on the date of the increase in the allocation in the second stage, 1979, and the ceilings of incomes in light of which the state allocation is established shall be applied to persons with jobs who benefitted by the increase in wages during the second stage, 1979-1980, and to retired people with pensions increased in 1979.

Article 4. (1) The state allocation for children, in the amount established for the urban areas, shall also be granted to people residing in localities which are part of municipalities and towns. Moreover, the persons specified in the annex to this decree shall also receive the allocation, in the amount established for the urban areas.

- (2) The state allocation for children, in the amount established for rural areas, shall also be granted to persons residing in sub-urban communes and in villages belonging to municipalities and towns.
- (3) The amount of the state allocation for children shall be modified whenever there is a change in the number of children, the incomes of the recipient, the urban or rural areas of residence, and the other conditions in light of which the allocation is granted.

Chapter III. Conditions for Granting the State Allocation for Children

- Article 5. (1) The state allocation for children shall be granted to the families in which one of both parents are:
- a) Working under a labor contract for an undetermined length in state socialist units and to other persons who, in conformance with the law, work under similar conditions;
- b. Permanent military cadres, cadets of military schools and of military higher education facilities;
- c. Conscripts and men drafted for a shorter period;
- d. Teaching personnel hired for one academic year;
- e. Students in higher education, day classes, and doctorands who are scholarship holders;
- f. Retired people who receive state social insurance pensions, military pensioners, and IOVR /Invalids, Orphans, and War Widows/pensioners, who are social welfare recipients; successor pensioner children shall receive the state allocation if they are under 16.
- (2) The state allocation for children shall be granted to the husband; if only the wife falls into the categories provided for in Paragraph (1), the state allocation for children shall be granted to her.
- Article 6. (1) The state allocation shall be granted for children under 16 who are dependents of the family; for those who have contracted a disability degree I or II before reaching this age, the allocation shall be granted until the 18th birthday.
- (2) Eligible for the state allocation, under identical conditions as those involving children issued from the marriage of parents are:
- a. Children from the prior marriage of one of the spouses, in his or her care;

- b. Children out of wedlock, if they were acknowledged or if their filiation was determined by a court decision;
- c. Adopted children;
- d. Foster children assigned by competent bodies, in accordance with legal provisions.
- (3) In the case of divorced parents and in the case of children out of wedlock, who have been acknowledged or whose filiation was determined by a court decision, the allocation shall be granted to the parent who takes care of the child.
- (4) If the parent who takes care of the child does not fall into the categories of people who are eligible for the allocation, the allocation shall be granted to the other parent, if he or she meets the conditions required by the law. In this case, the allocation shall be paid by the unit to the parent who takes care of the child.
- Article 7. (1) The state allocation for children shall be granted, shall be modified or shall stop beginning in the month following that in which the conditions stipulated by the law are met.
- (2) For the newly hired persons, the state allocation for children shall be granted 3 months after the hiring under a labor contract for an undetermined length.
- (3) For the persons whose labor contract was terminated by their fault, under the conditions in which, according to the law, the length of service is interrupted, the allocation shall be granted only 3 months after rehiring under a labor contract for an undetermined length, and for the next 6 months the amount of the allocation shall be cut 50 percent.
- Article 8. The state allocation recipients shall maintain their eligibility until rehiring, but not longer than 3 months after the termination of the labor contract, if this is due to personnel cutbacks or slowdown and in the period involved they are eligible, in accordance with the law, to the allocation.
- Article 9. (1) In determining the incomes in light of which the eligibility for the state allocation for children is established for the persons working under a labor contract, taken into considerationare the hiring or calculation basic wage, as the case may be, respectively the basic pay for permanent military personnel, to which are also added the sums obtained, under legal conditions, from other payment eligibilities.
- (2) In the case of the persons who work under the piecework system, the state allocation for children shall be granted in light of the basic wage, regardless of the income obtained.

- (3) In the case of the persons working shorter hours, under legal conditions, the eligibility for the allocation shall be determined in light of the basic hiring wage corresponding to the full work schedule.
- Article 10. In the case of pensioners, the eligibility for the state allocation for children shall be established in light of the amount of the pension or of the social welfare amount, and in the case of the persons enlisted for military service, in light of the eligibility for allocations or compensations, as the case may be, in conformance with the law.
- Article 11. (1) The state allocation shall not be granted in the case of children who:
- a. Are students in schools which provide full state-granted maintenance;
- b. Obtain their own incomes, as apprentices on the job or hired in conformance with the legal provisions.
- (2) The state allocation for children shall not be granted on a cumulative basis with the scholarship. The eligible persons may opt for the scholarship or for the allocation.
- (3) In the case of children in social welfare facilities, the state allocation shall only be granted if the parents pay the maintenance costs in full.
- Article 12. The persons who have had more than 12 days leave of absence, time excused or absence without leave, from the beginning of the calendar year, shall not receive the state allocation in the month in which a new request for excuse, leave of absence or absence without leave occurs.
- Article 13. The persons on leaves of absence in January and February, as a result of slowdown because of unfavorable atmospheric conditions, are eligible for the state allocation for children in these months as well. The payment of the allocation by the subordinate units in these cases shall be approved by ministries, the other central bodies and the executive committees of people's councils of counties and of Bucharest Municipality, with the assessment of the Ministry of Labor.
- Chapter IV. Establishment and Payment of the State Allocation for Children
- Article 14. (1) The eligibility for the state allocation for children shall be established by the unit which, in accordance with the previsions of this decree, is obligated to pay the allocation.

- (2) The application for the state allocation for children shall be verified by the commission for pensions and social insurance of the unit and shall be approved by the management of the unit, after the execution of preventive financial supervision.
- (3) The payment of the state allocation for children shall be made by:
- a. The units which pay the allocation, in the case of hired people;
- b. The organs for social insurance and pensions, in the case of pensioners;
- c. The facilities in which they have enrolled, in the case of students in higher education, day classes, and of graduates until they are hired on a job, within the period established by the placement order;
- d. The units which employed them, in the case of conscripts and men drafted for a shorter period, who at the time of the conscription were on a job under a labor contract for an undetermined length;
- e. The military centers, for the cadets of military schools and military academies;
- f. The units from which they receive their pay, in accordance with the law, in the case of the persons enlisted for military service other than conscription.
- (4) In order to obtain the qualification for the allocation, the aplicants shall forward the required documents to the unit which, in accordance with this decree, is supposed to make the payment.
- Article 15. (1) The recipients of the state allocation for children are obligated to inform the unit, within the period of 10 days, about any change which occurred in their situation or in the number or status of the children, which may modify the eligibility for the allocation.
- (2) For the purpose of avoiding unlawful payment of the allocation, the social welfare facilities which take care of children under 16 must notify this situation to the unit which employs the parent or the person in whose care the child is.
- Article 16. (1) The eligibility for the state allocation for children shall be granted only from the date when it was established in accordance with this decree.
- (2) In the case when the allocation was paid without legal ground, action may be taken to recover the sums paid for a period of 12 months,

under the conditions provided for in the Labor Code. If the action which caused such a payment is an offence, the sums shall be recovered for the whole period over which they were paid.

Chapter V. Transitional and Terminal Provisions

Article 17. The provisions of this decree shall also be correspondingly applied to personnel in the artisan and consumer cooperative systems, and to writers, artists, painters, sculptors, and composers, members of the writers and artists unions, members of the collegiums of lawyers, and the personnel of other mass organizations, with the payment of the allocation being made from inhouse funds.

Article 18. (1) This decree takes effect on 1 September 1977, with the exception of Article 3 which will be applied concurrently with the second stage of increase in the state allocation for children, in 1979.

(2) Decree No 285/1960, with the subsequent modifications, and any other provisions conflicting with this decree shall cease to be valid on the day when this decree takes effect.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 28 July 1977 No 246.

Appendix

Categories of Persons Who Are Eligible for the State Allocation for Children in Amounts Corresponding to the Urban Areas, Regardless of Their Area of Residence

1. The persons employed by enterprises under ministries and the other central bodies in the mining, drilling, oil and methane gas, ferrous metallurgical, nonferrous metallurgical, refractory materials, machine building, electrical power, chemical, viscosis, glass and ceramics, construction-assembly, paper-pulp, cement, building materials, wood, printing, textile, garment, footwear, leather-rubber, food, forestry, railroad, air, sea, river, and automotive transportation branches and the persons employed by the preindustrialization and procurement enterprises under the Central for Preindustrialization and Procurement under the guidance and control of the Ministry of Light Industry, who conduct their activity in the warehouses of hides and are constantly involved in the development of sorting, preindustrialization and formation of batches of hides.

- 2. The persons employed by the units under the Ministry of Agriculture and The Food Industry:
- a. Centrals, county trusts of state agricultural enterprises, state enterprises and their subunits, under the Department of State Agriculture:
- b. Educational experimental stations under the Department of State Agriculture;
- c. Trusts and stations for the mechanization of agriculture;
- d. Mechanical enterprises of agriculture and food industry;
- e. Units for animal breeding and fattening;
- f. Centers for the testing of strains;
- g. Units and subunits under the National Center for Breeding and Training Pedigree Horses;
- h. Units for agricultural and sericultural research and production;
- i. Enterprises for the production and industrialization of vegetable and fruit, production sections, farms, hothouses and nurseries under the nursery enterprises; hothouses and nurseries under the enterprises for vegetable and fruit under the Central for Vegetables and Fruits.
- 3. The persons in the enterprises under the executive committees of people's councils, in the construction-assembly, building materials, and mining branches.
- 4. The medical-health and pharmaceutical personnel.
- 5. The permanent military personnel and the civilian personnel in the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior.
- 6. The chairmen, vice chairmen, and secretaries of the executive bureaus and executive committees of people's councils of communes, towns, municipalities, sectors, and counties.
- 7. The students of higher education, day classes, and the cadets of military schools and military academies.
- 8. The persons of the Central Institute of Physics and the subordinate units at the Magurele facility under the State Committee for Nuclear Energy.

- 9. The persons of the sites which conduct geological and drilling surveys under the Institute of Study and Design in Water Power under the Ministry of Electric Power.
- 10. The persons in the budgetary units under the Department of Civil Aviation.
- 11. The persons working for the Directorate of the $^{\rm N}$ ational Cultural Resources under the Council of Socialist Education and Culture, who complete construction-assembly projects.
- 12. The persons employed by the units under the guidance and supervision of the General Directorate of State Reserves.
- 13. The persons employed by the breeding farms for laboratory animals in the Cernica and Tunari communes and Bucharest Municipality under the medical research institutes attached to the Academy of Medical Sciences.
- 14. The personnel of the experimental teaching stations under the Ministry of Education and Teaching.
- 15. The personnel who have retained their eligibility for the state allocation after the Cimpina Sulfuric Acid Section under the Valea Calugareasca Fertilizer Combine was transferred to the Cimpina 23 August Local Industry Combine and the Bucharest IPMA Enterprise of Prototypes of Agricultural Machines and Installations to the Bucharest Institute for Research and Design of Agricultural Machines, during the period in which they are employed in the section or institute involved, as the case may be.

Note:

- 1. If a unit or central has sections, subunits or units, which are not legal entities, in different branches of activity, in terms of the amount of the allocation they shall follow the system of the unit to which they belong, regardless of the payment system which is applied in the subunits involved.
- 2. In the case of transfer of an enterprise from the subordination of one organ to the subordination of another organ, the allocation shall be granted from the respective date, in accordance with the new status.
- 3. The classification of the local subordination enterprises in one of the branches of this annex shall be determined by the decision of the executive committees of people's councils of counties and of Bucharest Municipality. If an enterprise of local subordination has sections, subunits, or departments in different branches, the provisions of this annex shall be only applied to the sections, subunits or departments in the branches specified in Item 3 of the annex.

BRIEFS

NEW RED CROSS CHAIRMAN--On 8 September there was a plenum of the National Council of the Red Cross Society. The plenum released Comrade Mihai Burca from his position as Chairman of the National Council of the Red Cross Society for reasons of health. Comrade Major General Constantin Burada was elected chairman of the National Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 77 p 5]

DEATH OF VETERINARY SCIENTIST -- The Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences announces the death of Dr Docent Nicolae Muntiu, vice chairman of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, eminent scientist, renowned in Romania and abroad for his achievements in veterinary medical sciences. Muntiu had been director of the Pasteur Institute, vice chairman of the Society of Veterinary Medicine in Romania, a colonel in the reserves, chief of the Military Veterinary Hospital in Romania, researcher in the Dr I. Cantacuzino Institute and the Institute for State Control of Medicines and Pharmaceutical Research. He was secretary general of the Commission for Hoof and Mouth Disease of the International Office for Epizootic Diseases in Paris. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Sep 77 p 4]

INTERNATIONAL CHEMISTRY COURSE -- The fourth refresher course in petrochemistry for highly trained technical cadres from developing countries started in Bucharest on September (?5). The course is organized by the office of the UNIDO-Romanian Centre in cooperation with the Center for Perfecting the Works in Chemical Industry. This year, the refresher course is attended by UNIDO [United Nations Industrial Development Organization] stipend holders of Ecuador, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, Turkey and Yugoslavia. It includes a series of lectures followed by practice in production in various units of the Romanian petrochemical industry, just as by an intensive course on management at the International Management Centre-CEPECA-under the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy. The refresher course, organized according to the agreement concluded this year between the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, is part of Romania's policy of supporting and promoting relations of collaboration with the developing countries. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1906 GMT 5 Sep 77 AU]

PARTY PAPER CRITICIZES IDEALIZED PORTRAYAL OF SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIETY

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 77 p 6

[Summary] Do we always hold the right view toward the reality which we are developing and in which we are living; an open, creatively critical, and communist view? Discussion of this question is occasioned by apologetic cheering which is ignorant of and does not understand the essence of social processes, by bureaucratic whitewashing, and by not being that which we are supposed to be -- communists.

Most illustrative in this sense is the view broadcast a little more than 2 months ago in the "Kino-oko" TV program devoted to problems of self-management; there have been critical comments in some newspapers on this view.

What is this view? It represents a beautifying of reality -- one of the forms of non-dialectical, unhistorical, rigid, idealized, and dogmatic thinking which appears under our conditions as a petit-bourgeois plan for the last stage in developing self-management. That which we have achieved up to now becomes an idealized construction, a situation of complete harmony in which there are no dilemmas or contradictory tendencies; everything is in its best and only possible place, and therefore nothing should be touched, changed, added to or subtracted from, so that the idyll in which we find ourselves will not be disturbed.

Experience has shown that in the building of socialism and self-management in Yugoslavia currents have appeared which range from middle-class/liberalist, dogmatic, nationalist, to techno-bureaucratic or some other anti-self-management orientation. It has also become obvious that tendencies of this kind can be eliminated or narrowed only by the further development of self-management in all spheres of social life and not by proclaiming some stage of development as an absolute stage in which all "work" is completed.

COMINTERN CONGRESSES PROCEEDINGS TO BE PUBLISHED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 77 p 10 AU

[TANJUG report]

[Text] The full proceedings of all seven congresses of the Communist International, from the first one in 1919 to the seventh in 1935, will be published for the first time in Yugoslavia. The publisher of this collection, the first three volumes of which will shortly be prepared for print, is the Institute for the International Workers Movement in Belgrade.

One volume will be devoted to each Comintern congress: it will contain an introduction, shorthand records and documents of the congress, other materials and supplements, scientific notes and indexes. This publication is particularly important for our scientific public because a full, critical modern version of these shorthand records has not yet been published anywhere in the world.

The first attempt of this kind was made in the Soviet Union in the thirties, when the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute published an extended and corrected edition of the first and second congresses of the Communist International. However, the work was soon stopped and has not been resumed to the present time, says Dr Cedomir Strbac, director of the Institute for the International Workers Movement.

We decided to publish the full shorthand records of all seven congresses, having been guided by the need of our scientific public to be able to obtain an objective, critical scientific judgment of the Comintern by seeing original documents in our language. The fact was also borne in mind, Strbac says, that it is precisely the congress debates that illustrate best the state of affairs in the Comintern, internal controversies, clashes of currents and groups, as well as the process of dogmatisation and bureaucratization.

Four volumes are to be published by the end of this year, and the remaining three volumes of the documents and materials of the Comintern are to be published by the end of next year.

'TRUDBENIK' ACCUSES BULGARIA OF OPPRESSING MACEDONIAN MINORITY

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1932 GMT 10 Sep 77 LD

[Text] Skopje--The SKOPJE TRUDBENIK, organ of the Federation of Macedonian Trade Unions, comments on the recent provocation by Bakhnev, Bulgarian representative in Geneva at the session of the UN Subcommittee for Struggle Against Discrimination and for the Protection of Minorities. The paper believes that such provocation is seldom encountered at sessions of such international humanitarian bodies.

The occasion for this outburst, which is unusual in international practice, was the observation of Yugoslav expert Prof Dr Branimir Jankovic that in a study on the minorities provided for this subcommittee by Prof Francesco Caporetti in which the Macedonian national minority in the People's Republic of Bulgaria was omitted. This only prompted Bakhnev to deny once again the existence of the Macedonian national minority in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. However, angry that he had no evidence to prove this, he gave vent to an aggressive outburst against Yugoslavia. His first thesis was that no Slav population other than the Bulgarians lives in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Macedonian national minorities cannot even be mentioned. In so doing, Bakhnev invoked historical facts. However, this in itself is no argument at all because the world public, and especially the experts for national minorities in the UN subcommittee, know very well that only 30 years ago the top Bulgarian state and political organs maintained that the existence of the Macedonian national minority in the People's Republic of Bulgaria was a historic fact. Furthermore, Dayal, one of the members of this UN body which concerns itself with the problems of minorities, who used to be Indian ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, requested in the UN committee that the Bulgarian official organs provide more accurate information on minorities in that country because he knew very well that "Macedonian, Turkish and other minorities lived in the People's Republic of Bulgaria." Now the question arises: What is the historic fact? The one of 30 years ago or the present one? It is obvious that today the official representatives of Bulgaria are altering history and that they are motivated by present political objectives.

The second thesis: Whoever wishes to do so can come to Blagoevgrad/Gorna Dzhumaya/ and the Pirin part of Macedonia to be convinced that there are no Macedonians there. Argument: You can ask the inhabitants there. Obviously this "argument" is of no value for the international public especially for experts for there is material evidence that is supported by Bulgarian official circles that a Macedonian minority does exist in the Pirin part of Macedonia. According to information released by the Bulgarian Central Statistical Administration, 187,789 inhabitants of that territory declared themselves to be of Macedonian nationality in 1956. However, 9 years later the official statistics of the People's Republic of Bulgaria state that there were only 8,750 Macedonians in that area. As a foreign observer of this problem wittily remarked, this kind of mortality rate sets a new record for modern times.

Today Bakhnev maintains that there are no Macedonians. Well, what happened to the Macedonians? No doubt they exist. There are no mysteries. They could not have disappeared, and Bulgarian official quarters are duty-bound to say what methods were resorted to (?to insure) that a numerically strong national minority disappeared, or rather what measures, pressure and terror were applied to prevent the Macedonians from expressing freely their national identity? It is, therefore, rather cynical for an outsider to be told to ask somebody in Blagoevgrad/Gorna Dzhumaya/ whether he is Macedonian, for if he answers in the affirmative he can be sent immediately to a forced labor camp.

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CATHOLIC PAPER DISAGREES WITH PRESS COMMENTS ON CHURCH

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 77 p 2

[Text] In five installments from 19 to 23 July, the newspaper VJESNIK carried a long report from TANJUG on a conference organized in early June in Zagreb by the Commission of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY for Ideological and Theoretical Questions in the LCY and Questions of Ideology in the Areas of Education, Science and Culture. That TANJUG information was also carried by other papers with the explanation that the indicated conference "was in the main stream of public interest" and that it "fascinated the public." GLAS KONCILA on 12 June this year published an editorial concerning that conference based on data that had appeared in the press by that time. New information causes new thoughts to arise. On 23 and 24 July, however, VECERNJI LIST printed a long interview with a secretary in the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Central Committee, LCY, Toda Kurtovic, under the title "Clericalism Threatens Religious Freedom." In that interview, as in the previously mentioned TANJUG series, there is a clear tendency to emphasize freedoms which our religious communities already enjoy now in our society and to guide social development and political practice toward the increasing realization of those freedoms. Through the texts, however, runs a repeated theme of criticism of the work of religious representatives and the church press,-unfortunately, without precise references and clear formulation, but only broadly. This theme spoils the impression and does not contribute to authenticity. Yet regarded in the light of the development of social practice and with awareness of its agents, perhaps this approach is understandable.

Particularly apparent is the emphasis in the TANJUG series on freedoms that are enjoyed by the clergy and official church institutions. The fact is that since the war there have been more church structures built in Yugoslavia than during the century (perhaps centuries) preceding the war. It is also a fact that the church press in Yugoslavia has achieved a large circulation, that it is developing without preliminary censorship, and without limitations on circulation. Furthermore, schools for training religious personnel function freely, and many clergymen obtain advanced specialization in foreign schools. The information would have been much more realistic, however, if it had compared all those numbers to the growth

of the Yugoslav population (meaning also the number of believers), and the number of newly constructed church structures should have been connected to the development of settlements and to indicators of other construction for public use. Mention should also have been made of the numbers and locations where, with their own money, believers wish to build church buildings for church needs, and that has not yet been made possible. Finally, indications of the realization of religious freedoms in Yugoslavia would have been much more complete if they had not been limited only to the clergy, church buildings and church institutions, but rather had been extended at least to cover believers who are not clergymen. It would have been very interesting to know how many active and professed lay believers are working in prominent public positions, how many directors, professors, commissioned officers, etc., are participating in church councils, how many of our intellectuals are contributing as laymen to the church press under their own names, and how many requests there are for discreet baptisms and marriages in families that believe that prudence requires it. Of course, such statistics would have been difficult to gather. Lay believers would generally resist such a census and would refuse to give information. Unfortunately, many of them think that the clergy of official church institutions enjoys certain freedoms of living and official action and because of that they are increasingly indifferent when it comes to the realization of religious freedoms and full citizenship rights for lay believers, even though these are guaranteed by There are even rumors that there is a well conceived clericalization of the Church in this, a prostitution of the Church which thereby has guaranteed rights and freedoms for the clergy itself. If that were true, all the talk and all the statistics on the freedoms and activities of the Church as a clerical body could be misused to contribute to the idea that precisely the indicated kind of clericalization is taking place. We know, and we wish to believe, that there is no such intent, nor can there be any among responsible people, but it is possible for some individuals and groups, more or less intentionally, to follow the line of least resistance in practice, seeking apparently quicker solutions. But a society that wants consciously to eliminate entirely any interference cannot seek to contribute to such an alienation of the clergy from its constituency of believers, to such a sterile form of interference. For that reason we caution about the indicated danger, in awareness that those who support any elimination of estrangement, who are against the creation and support of any alienated force, will comprehend the good intentions and urgency of this warning.

Finally, the TANJUG information in VJESNIK on 23 July clearly stated that "there are still serious failings in practice which make it impossible to perform religious rites or funerals or to deliver sermons according to religious custom." There are admissions that state agencies have applied pressure on some priests and bishops, and even that some priests have been blackmailed. One conference of the SAWP proposed that a delegate could not be a professed believer, which would mean that more than 80 percent of the working people would be excluded from the system of delegates. There was also the consoling statement in the indicated series that stated: "Individuals who commit such excesses should no longer be condoned. The behavior up

until now, even though only in individual instances, is not acceptable. In our party practice we have punished communists for various excesses in the past, but so far none have been punished for their religious affiliation in the League of Communists."

We stress that text because we have never wanted to say anything different when, with confidence in the legality and general line of development, we brought excesses and abuses to public attention. It is a fact that so far, through all these years, such excesses generally have not been punished even in the League of Communists. That justifies the frequent insistence of our church press and church representatives that there be open and productive reference to such abuses in such cases, so that they do not become established practice. We cannot be regarded as "opponents of our system" for that reason, as the indicated text calls, in a totally unjustified way from our viewpoint, all those who have "succeeded in raising various discussions about the supposed privileged position of believers." We rejoice that responsible public factors have begun to speak publicly and resolutely about that issue, because that is a social question that truly can be resolved by responsible public forums, while we, as citizens who are believers, as members of the Church and of the society, can only issue warnings with confidence.

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BRIEFS

'BORBA' FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS—In the desire to inform its readers as fully as possible about international events, BORBA is opening permanent correspondents posts in the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Nations, France, Italy and Egypt. The following have been appointed permanent correspondents: Dusan Cukic in Moscow, Bogdan Decermic in New York, Aleksandar Djukanovic in Paris, Dragan Vukobratovic in Rome, Dejan Lukic in Cairo. The correspondents who will report for BORBA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, SPORT and other publications of the BORBA newspaper publishing and printing enterprise will depart for their posts shortly. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 77 p 4 AU]

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